The shift from moderates to militants

A SEPARATE PATH

This is the conclusion of LIFE's series on the history of the Negro in America. The first three sections appeared in the issues of Nov. 22 and 29 and Dec. 6.

The great decade of civil rights progress—from 1955 to 1965—found its victories in an appeal to the conscience, the laws and the pragmatism of white America. Three of the men at right can claim as much credit as any for those victories. Thurgood Marshall, Whitney Young and Martin Luther King Jr. spoke *for* the black man, *to* the white. Their demands marked a new surge in the black Americans' drive for equality.

Thurgood Marshall, named last year to be the first Negro to sit on the Supreme Court, appeared before that same Court 32 times during his 23-year tenure as counsel of the NAACP. From 1938, when he appeared before Southern courts where Negro lawyers had never before handled civil rights cases, Marshall built a series of victories that culminated in *Brown v. Board of Education*, decided by the Supreme Court in 1954. To win that final battle, Marshall gathered the support of historians, sociologists and educators to per-

the legal front and the Urban League on the economic, Dr. King, as head of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, forced the nation to consider its moral stance. More than Marshall or Young, Dr. King spoke to his own people. But his words were—and were meant to be—overheard by white America. King fashioned an American version of Mahatma Gandhi's prime weapon, nonviolent resistance, and for 10 years he and his followers sat-in, walked-in and waded-in across the South. The days King spent in Southern jails furthered his cause as much as did his eloquent speeches. In 1964 he won the Nobel Peace Prize. And in 1968 he was assassinated.

In one sense, the successes of '55-'65 spawned the turmoil of the late '60s, the angry militancy, the outbreaks in the ghettos. Implicit in the legal victories was a guarantee of equality that many white Americans were not prepared to grant. The real restraints, the prejudices woven into the fabric of society, could not be argued out of existence before the Supreme Court. Now that the legalistic wrappings had been torn away, these real restraints stood revealed and many Negroes despaired of ever getting clear of them.

Thurgood Marshall, 60, graduated from Lincoln U. and joined the NAACP almost immediately after getting law degree from Howard.

Whitney Young, 47, with degrees from Kentucky State and Minnesota, was dean of social work at Atlanta U., became executive director of the Urban League in 1961.

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While the NAACP pursued its traditional legal goals, the National Urban League, headed since 1961 by Whitney Young, turned up the heat under America's employers. Young, a sophisticated and forceful bargainer, has sat on presidential commissions with enough executives to make up a Who's Who of American business. He has instant access to most of America's executive suites. But he enters them with a basic set of demands—jobs for Negroes and particularly in positions that will let the lower-echelon managers know that the company isn't kidding when it claims to be an "equal opportunity employer." Young's style of persuasion does not produce dramatic publicity. But it does make for hopeful statistics of Negroes moving into white-collar jobs.

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The man who spoke most clearly to those who despaired was Malcolm X. While Marshall and Young and King were telling whites, in effect, "look what you have done to us," Malcolm X spoke *to* the Negroes, not *for* them, and he told them "look what you can do for yourselves." He jarred the sensitivities of whites—particularly liberals—by telling Negroes to "stop begging favors from whites—but get up off your knees and fight your own battles." He demanded that blacks draw back into themselves, not physically but emotionally, to relearn their African roots, to merge their efforts for maximum effect, but most of all to assert their manhood as something that they already have, not as a civil right that they must bargain for.

Malcolm X spoke to the ghetto that he knew better than most. He had gone the route of petty hoodlum, thief, dope pusher and pimp to a 6-year jail term. The puritanism of the Black Muslim faith, which he adopted, drained his

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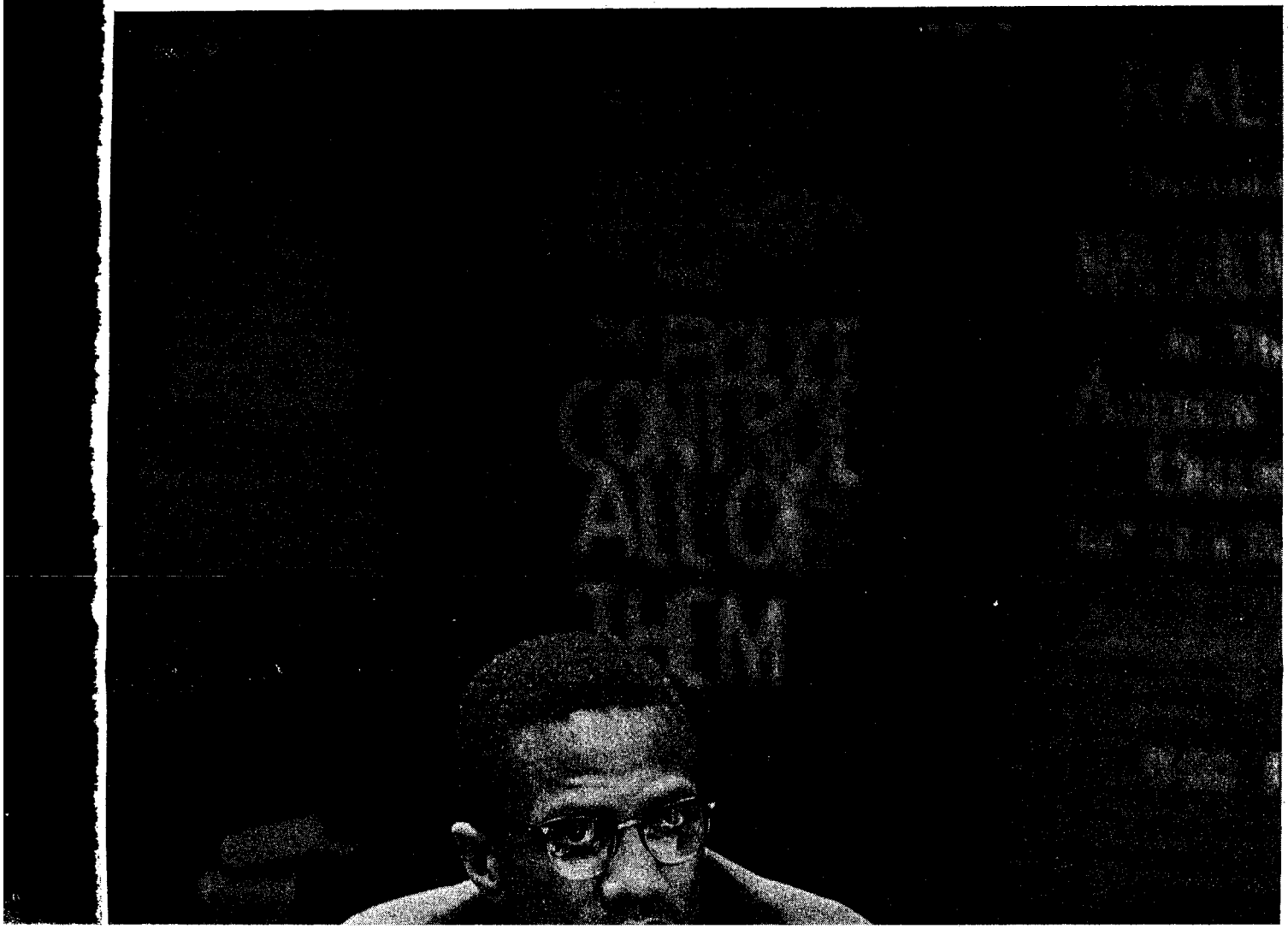
Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. graduated from Morehouse College, earned his Ph.D. at Boston U., shared pulpit of Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church with his father.

Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Neb., became a Black Muslim while in a Boston jail. His now famous autobiography was published posthumously in 1965.

SEARCH FOR A BLACK PAST PART IV

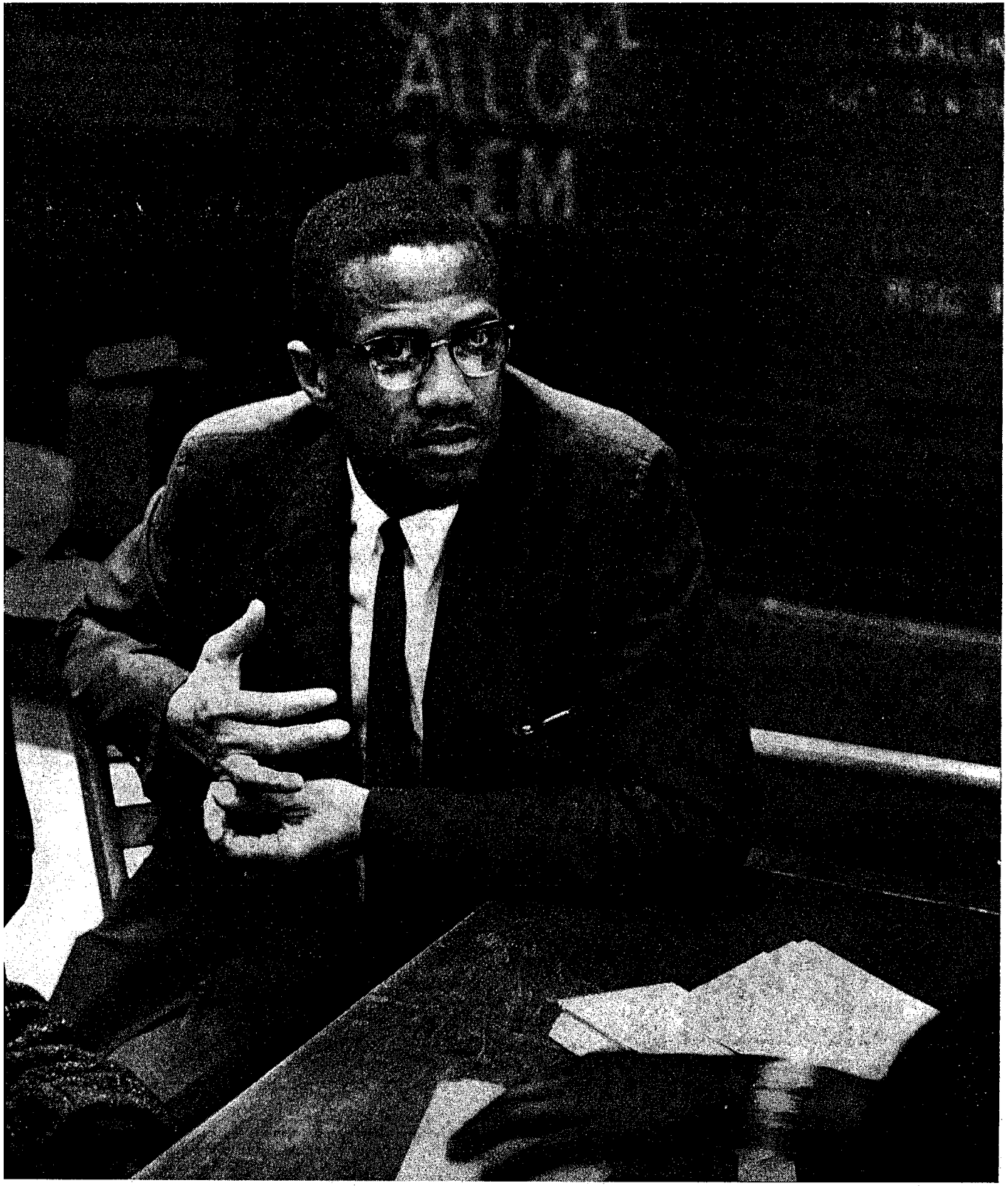
TO EQUALITY



vices. And his native intellect, belying a ninth-grade education, soon made him the most effective of the Muslim spokesmen. With maturity, Malcolm came to question much of the simplistic rhetoric of the sect, particularly the notion that all whites are by definition the devil. He died before he could fully develop his new stance. To a considerable degree the young black men quoted on the following pages share and carry forward the thoughts of Malcolm X.

These nine men lead widely different lives, but in the main they are activists, putting their views to daily use. Two are ministers, one is a neurosurgeon, another is a state legislator and there are a poet and a comedian as well. One, Eldridge Cleaver, is a fugitive. A felon with a record to rival Malcolm X's, Cleaver gained stature with an autobiography and his work as information director of the militant Black Panthers. Accused of breaking parole, and faced with more years in jail, he went into hiding.

Different as their lives are, their thinking, as revealed in recent interviews with LIFE, shares the common thread of separation. They are not interested in a back-to-Af-



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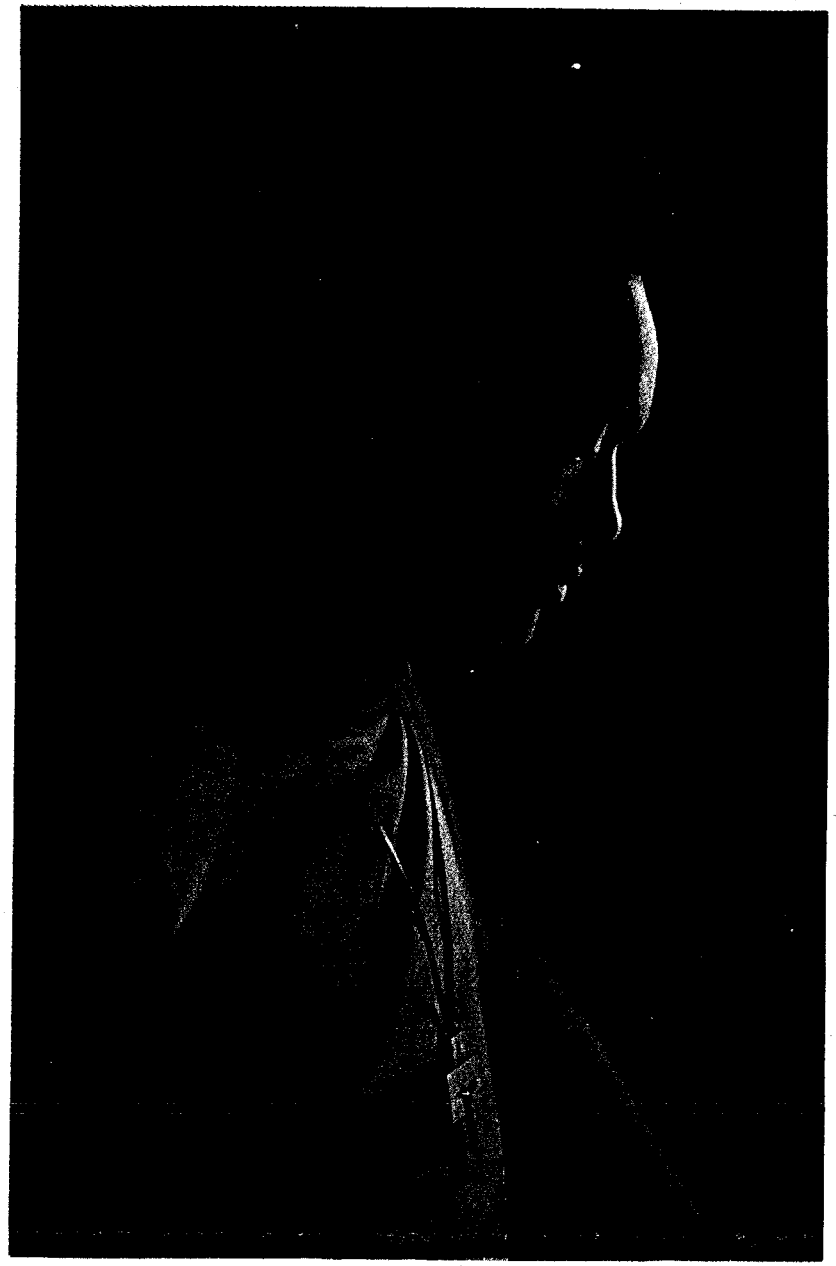
The separation that they favor is physical in a sense—within the ghettos. It is separation in a social sense—they oppose an integration that would submerge a weak minority of 10% under the weight of a majority of 90%. Phrased in nine different ways, they are talking about Black Power, about combining efforts so that black Americans can exert a leverage on the nation's policies.

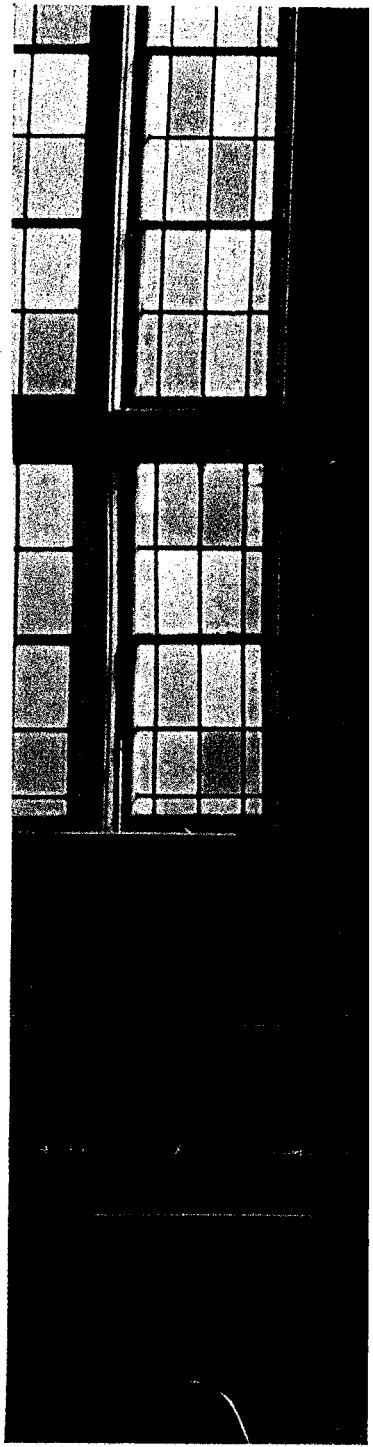
There is no point in arguing how many of America's Negroes these nine speak for. The point is that right now these are the men who are speaking *to* black America, and are being heard. Next year the list might be different. The movement toward Negro equality has a history of wearing out its prophets early. Still, these are the words that right now are coming through most clearly.

Jesse Jackson

A lieutenant of Martin Luther King . . . ordained this year as a Baptist minister . . . from his church in Chicago he directs Operation Breadbasket which gets action on Negro demands through boycotts of national firms . . . young (27), with it . . . as a college student in Greensboro, N.C., led the protest against segregated restaurants.

"Some call our private world the ghetto. But I call it the colony because social institutions did not create it—economic institutions created and maintain it. We must act to control our colonies through communications, economics and politics. We have been trained to be consumers rather than producers. Consumption leads to fatness but production leads to power. With our Operation Breadbasket we can channel the energies of our people. Some militants have a nihilistic sense, a feeling of futility; they have never won anything from white people and don't think they can. Therefore when we say the blacks should take over A&P in the ghetto, it is one way towards making militancy meaningful. We would rather own A&P than burn it. When we get in our own managers and products it has a maturing effect on these militants. Once they win a battle, they are ready to join in long-term struggle. We may still be economically insecure, but whites are psychologically insecure. America can't rest until we have one definition of man. America is schizo-





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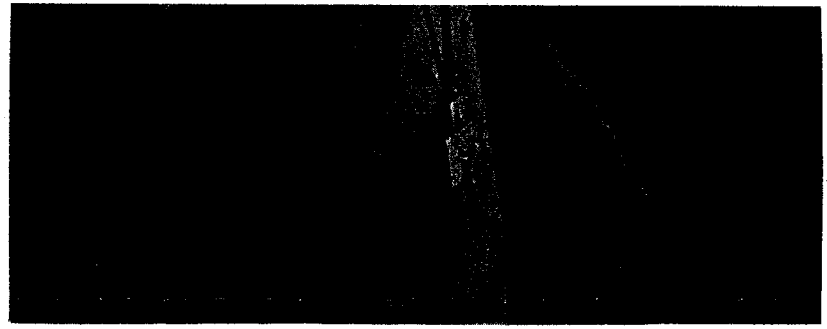
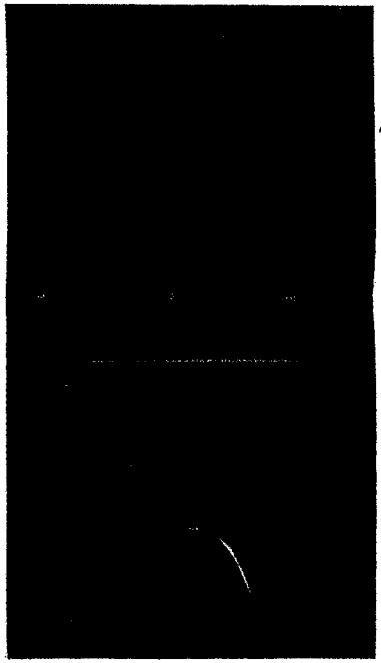
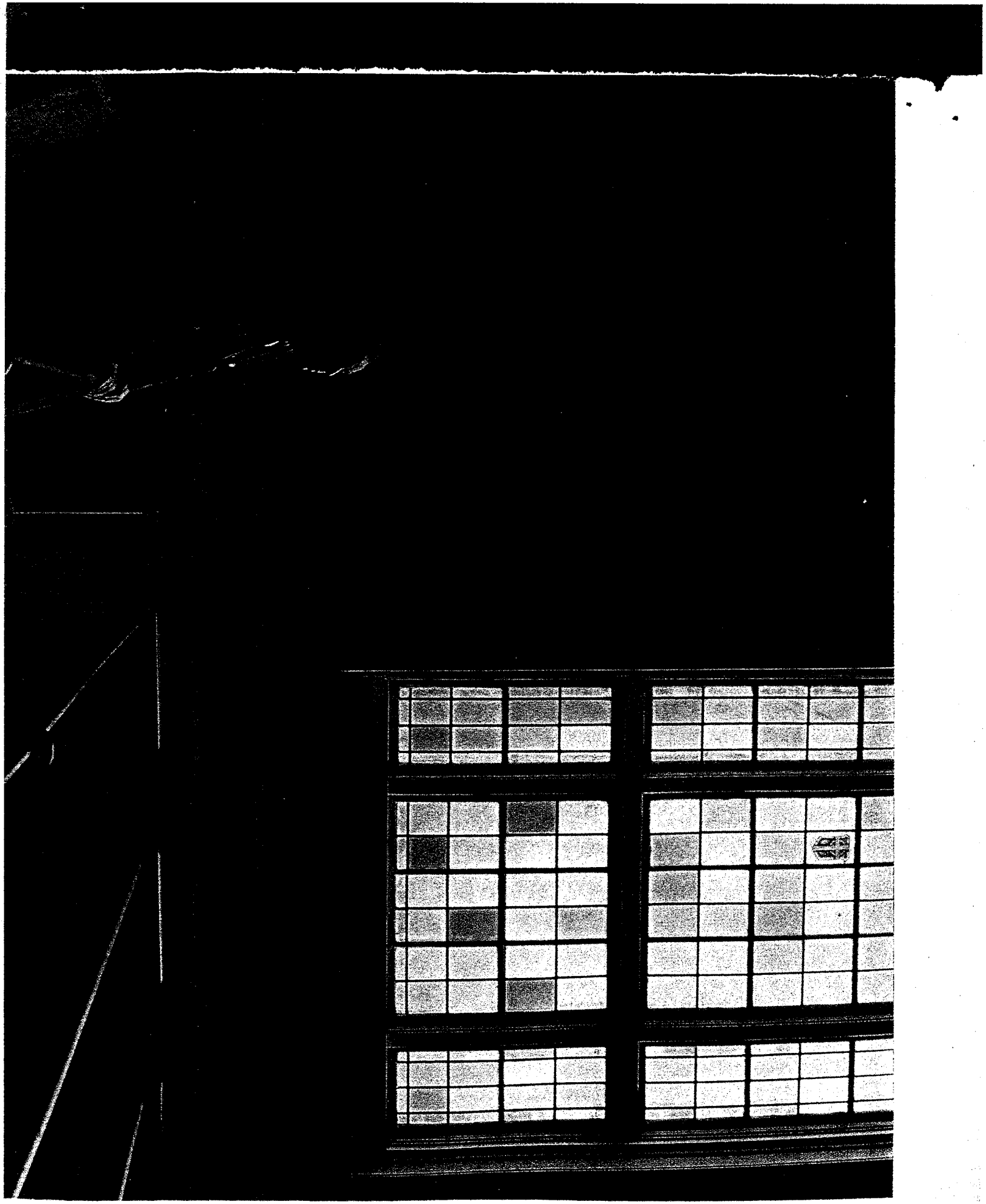


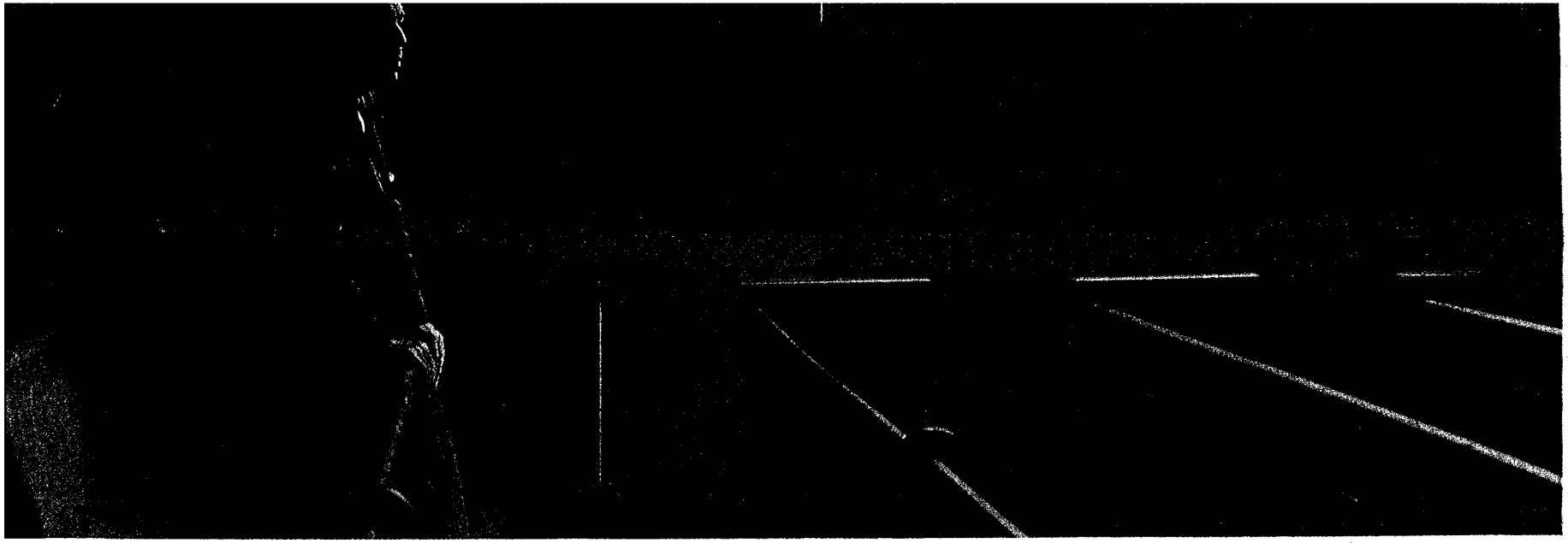


Roy Innis

Born in the Virgin Islands . . . college-trained chemist before he turned full time to civil rights . . . At 34 national director of CORE . . . the man most responsible for that group's shift to black nationalism . . . urbane, sophisticated.

"Black nationalism is the philosophy of self-determination, the philosophy of an oppressed people. Oppression can occur in one's homeland or in the homeland of the oppressor. And the latter has been suffered by only two great peoples—the Jews and the American blacks. One solution to such oppression is assimilation—in the essence, the loss of one's self. Moses tried the other solution—with his flight from Egypt. That won't work for us. We have to devise a philosophy applicable to our own dilemma. We must rehabilitate blacks as a people. We must control the institutions in our areas. We must deal with our problems as one whole—not individually as economic, political or social. Integration is a total failure. We must continue as a separate entity."





Albert Cleage Jr.

Pastor of a militant church, Detroit's Central United Church of Christ, which he has named Shrine of the Black Madonna . . . leads his congregation in worship of a black Messiah . . . in 1964 he founded the Freedom Now party and was its candidate for governor.

"My concern is bringing the black church into the struggle. What black ministers have learned about white man's Christianity is invalid; they must rebuild the worship service and the approach of the church. When I go back to the Old Testament, knowing that the Israelites were black and were caught up in a struggle for nationhood, it seems to me that many of their festivals and holidays should be incorporated into the black church. Passover is a remembering of one's time in bondage while celebrating freedom from slavery. The Old Testament is the text for black power, black pride, the search for black identity. We are a people seeking mental health. We've been sick a long time. The white man has always asserted that black is ugly. It's written into the language. Anything distasteful is black. It was a black day. You're blackballed out of a fraternity. If black and white are ever to coexist there must be candid acceptance that black is just as beautiful as white. And just as good."

Photographs by JOHN LOENGARD

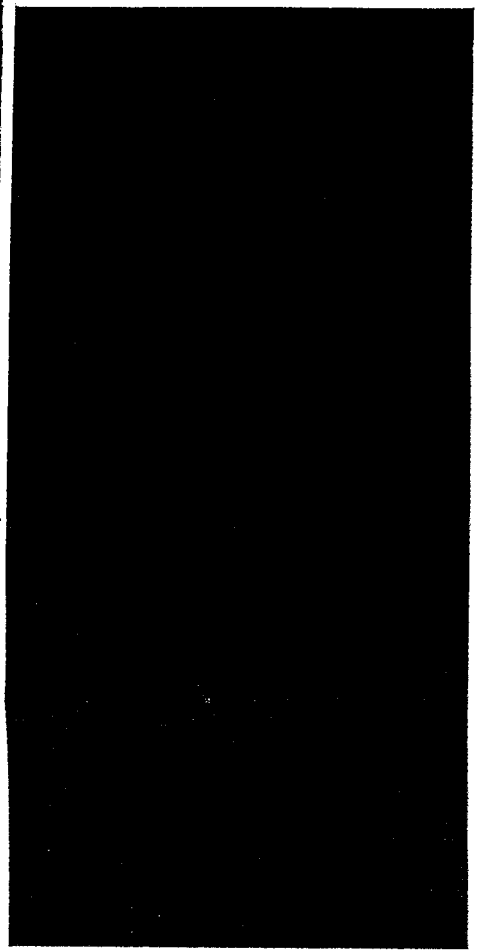
Dick Gregory

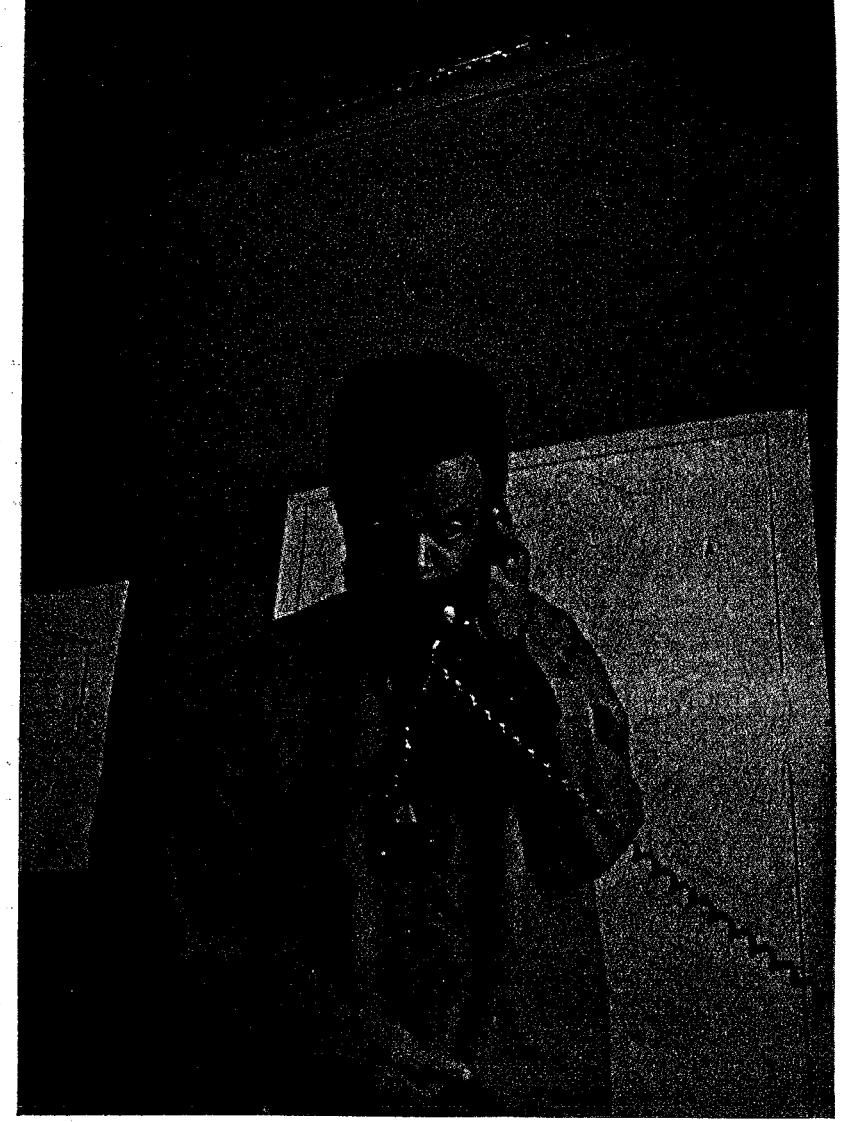
Successful comedian who finds little time now to be funny . . . was Freedom and Peace party candidate for President . . . now 36 . . . crusader for the rights of all the outs—his own people, the Indians, the hippies in Chicago.

"Black people have a bond—unequaled in this country—in the memory of shared insults. A rich white man will never be insulted in the same fashion as the richest black man. But the richest black man will be insulted for the same reasons as a black man without an income. All this talk about separatism—it's just a word to fascinate white folks who enjoy denouncing it. We are separated right now, and we want to control our areas. We will take this control if we have to. Not violently, but we will take it. Revolution means destroying your own. A black revolution means tearing up the black community. It cannot be without pain, but we will free ourselves from our hangups. I became involved when I stopped and realized that male animals are put on earth to reproduce—but that man was put here to make this place better for other men. I made my decision to be a man.

The structure is being tested not by blacks alone. White kids have hit the system and it won't stay like it is. White parents can't use the word "nigger" because their kids won't let them. These kids won't conform to society's old image. A kid can be number one in his class, but his long hair and

clothing make his parents ashamed of him. These young kids are pushing and they won't stop. When America can be as aware of injustices at home as she is of the ones around the world, then she'll be a truly vital society. When we can make democracy work, we won't have to force it down other people's throats. If it really is such a good idea, and if they can see it working, they'll steal it."

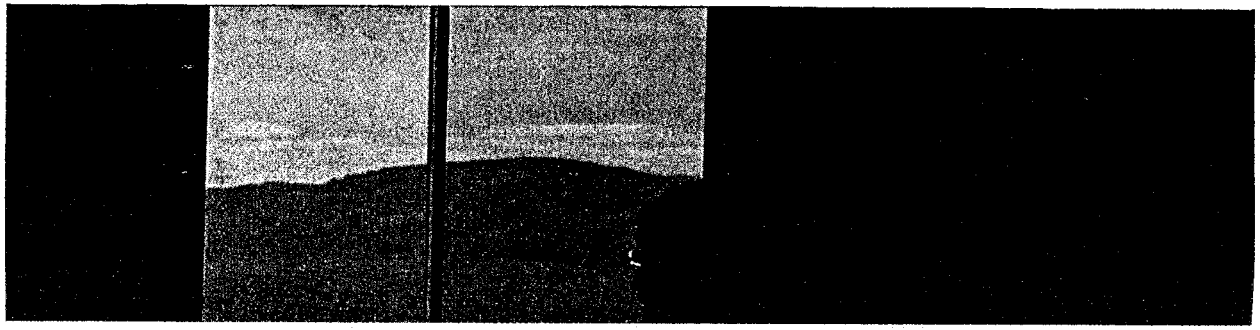




LeRoi Jones

Talented playwright . . . poet of black nationalism . . . eloquent militant whose advice now is "cool it" . . . leader, at 35, of Newark's United Black Brothers voter registration campaign to gain control of a city that is black by majority.

"How can anybody live in this world without seeing what's going on? We began as slaves and have never existed to the Man as human beings with rights equal to his. During the rebellions here in Newark, Negroes who were looking out the windows were shot because they were black. Negroes who believe they can slip into the white man's society are badly mistaken. The old established Negro leadership reflects white attitudes, urging patience after 350 years of patience. These leaders have the money, which whites are all too eager to give, to keep us down. And that represents power. Now they're going to have to be our leaders or nothing."



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Harry Edwards

A tower of a man—6' 8" and 250 pounds . . . now 26 . . . rejected pro football offers to work for Ph.D. in sociology . . . was assistant professor of sociology at San Jose State College . . . leader of black boycott of '68 Olympics.

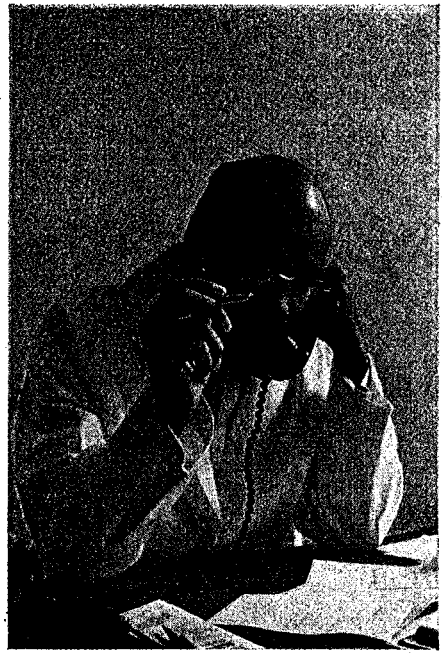
There are going to be more protests in the future. Black athletes in America have been used as symbols of a nonexistent democracy and brotherhood. This was the only place we were allowed to have heroes—but always on the white man's terms. Joe Louis could be idolized but Muhammad Ali was crucified by the Man. We have to get away from the tragicomic obsession with white folks. They are irrelevant. We are against the system—not against groups of whites. We must move against the institutions that the system reveres. The Man will send a regiment to protect a building but would not put the same effort into improving the conditions of human beings."

Eldridge Cleaver

Convicted felon who served his time for possession of drugs and criminal assault . . . in his cell wrote an important document of the rebellion, "Soul on Ice" highly praised collection of essays and letters . . . went into hiding to avoid a return to jail as a parole violator . . . now 33, a spokesman for the coldly militant Black Panthers.

"The slogan "Black Power" was recognition of a change in the psychology of black people. They have seized on their blackness and have rallied around it—around the central element for which they were oppressed. Now they have turned the focus of their oppression into the focal point of the struggle for liberation.

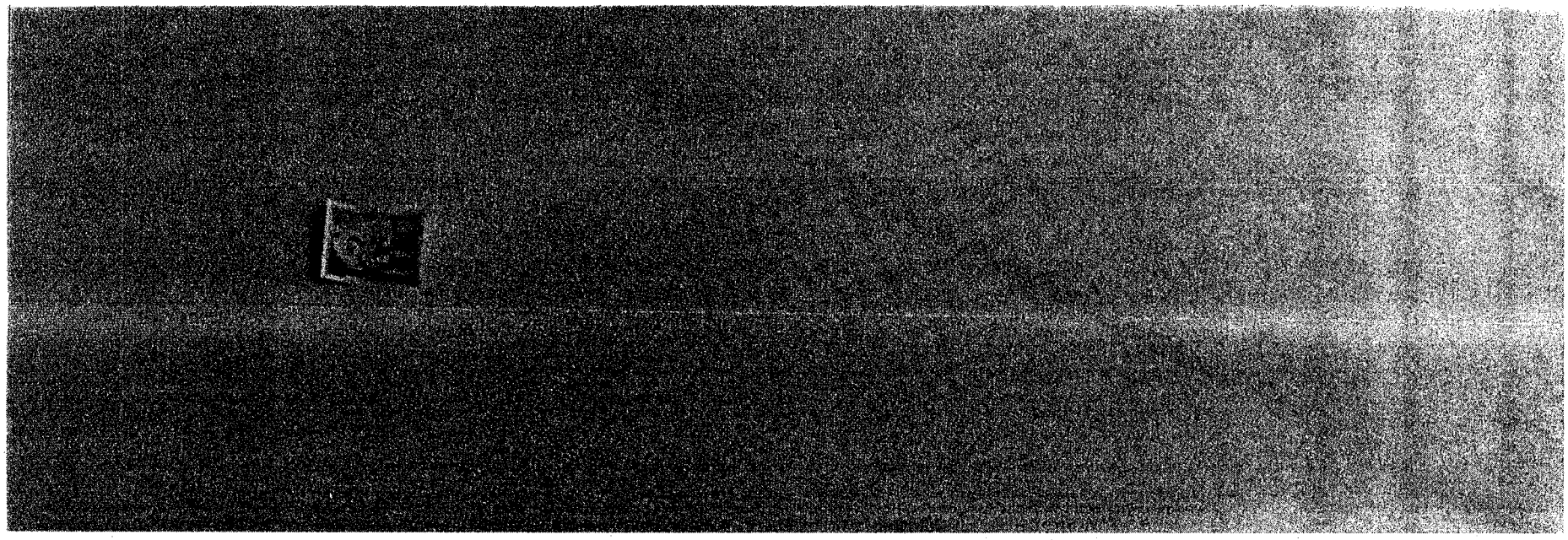
There is power in our communities but it is held by outsiders—or by traitors. They drain the prosperity out of our communities and take it home with them into the suburbs. The strong-arm men, the police, are there to see that we don't budge. But we are going to move anyway. The survival of our people depends on it. By struggling against the conditions we live in we're simply continuing the struggle of our ancestors up out of slavery. And we are reaching the end of our people's long hard struggle."



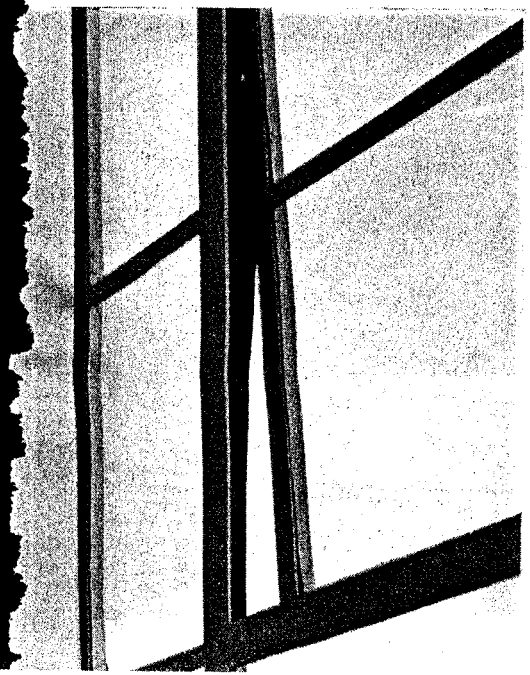
Thomas Matthew

Respected New York neurosurgeon . . . 43 years old . . . gave up much of his practice to found N.E.G.R.O., self-help corporate combine that issues bonds for as little as 25¢ and runs a hospital, apartment houses, small factories, bus lines in Watts and New York.

"Integration is a technique, not an end or an absolute. It has its proper place if circumstance gives it validity. Perhaps far in the future circumstances will be such that integration will benefit both blacks and whites. But integration will never work as long as it is only thought of for the black man's benefit. In the past integration has



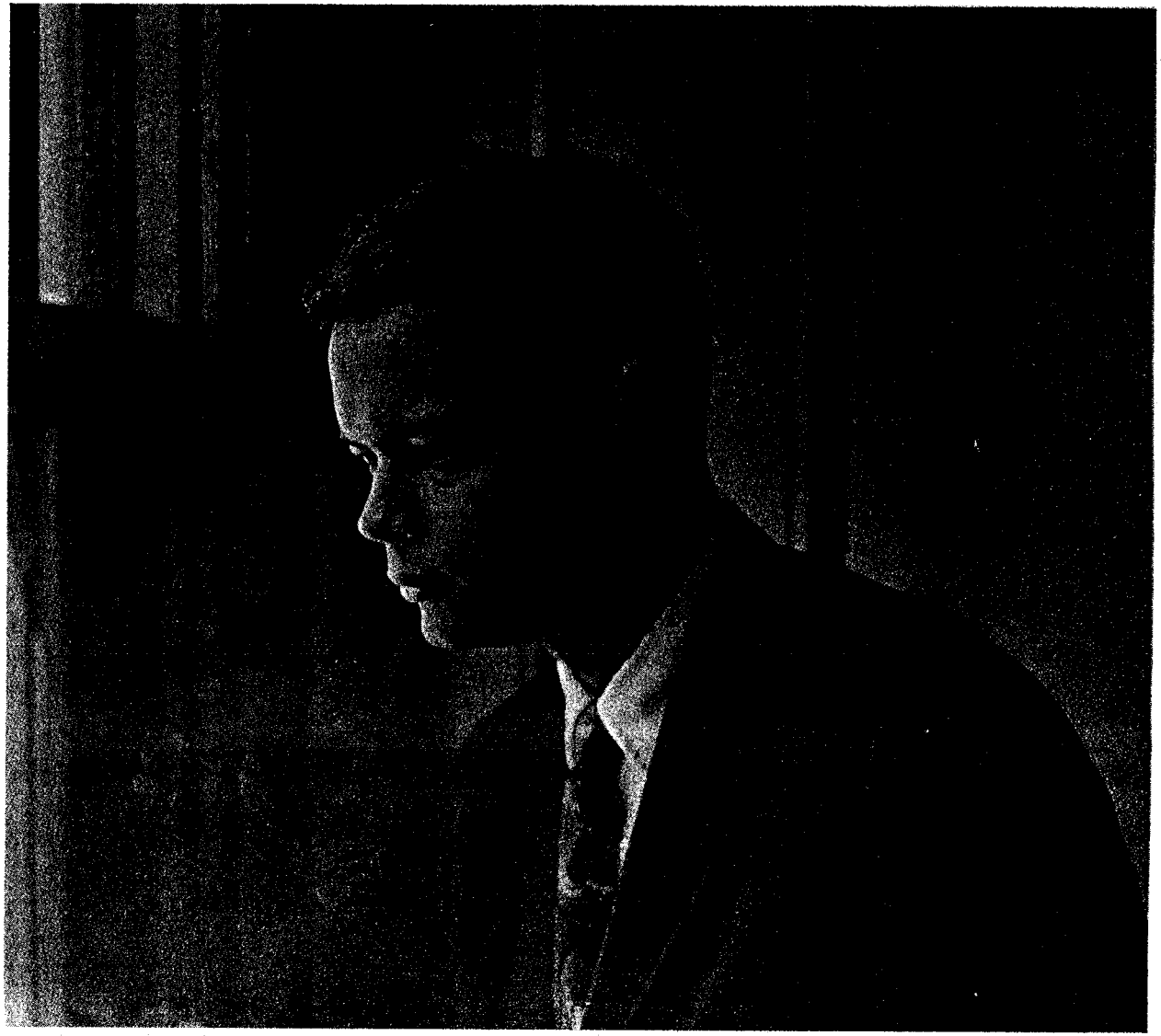
been a form of paternalism. The black bourgeoisie and intelligentsia thought that if they attained the privilege of being with whites it would solve all their problems. This has been a part of our inferiority complex. Now some of our people are loosening up, freeing themselves inside. There is no longer an extra internal jump when one hears the word "black" used in public. Here at N.E.G.R.O. we are trying to build a bridge between the black bourgeoisie, who have resources, education and talents, and the masses of black people who are in desperate need of leaders. The middle class has to be reminded that it exists at the sufferance of the white man. Their future is with the black masses, using their skills where they're really needed."

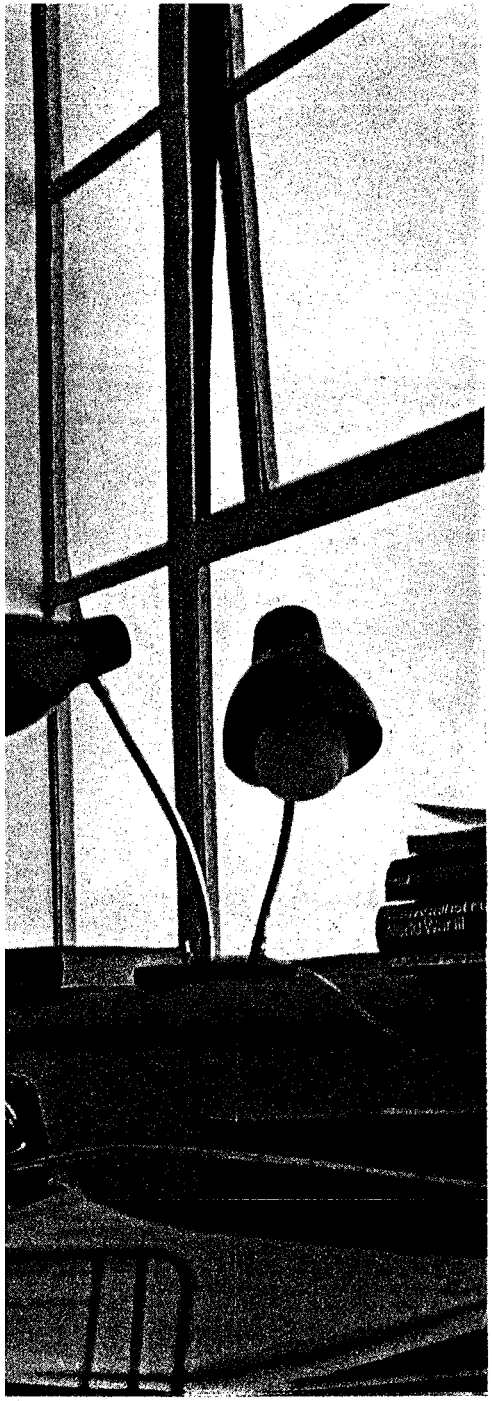


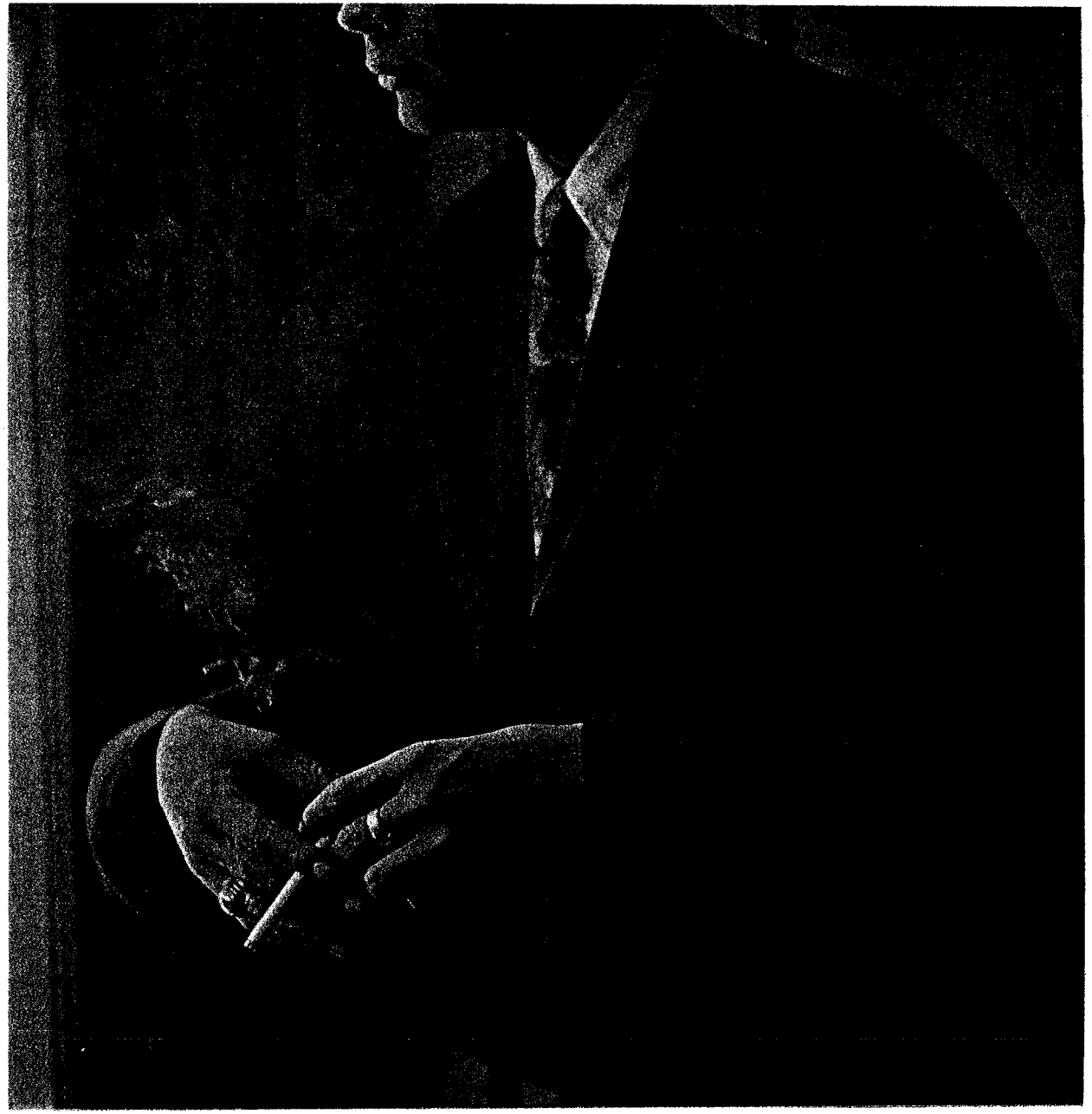
Julian Bond

Nationally known since the Democratic Convention . . . at 28 headed the irregular Georgia delegation . . . in 1965, elected to the Georgia House, where Negroes had not served since 1908 . . . denied his seat for antiwar statements until the Supreme Court took his side.

"Although I can't absolutely envision whites putting us in concentration camps, aren't they on the way to making the ghetto a concentration camp of sorts, with increasingly repressive police measures? I hope we can form a new coalition for action, not promises. Blacks were promised that patience would bring justice. Whites were promised that justice would bring order. But it was all promises, not progress. We face two alternatives: to strive for the day when the nation that fights wars to make the world safe for democracy can assure its citizens that democracy is safe for them; or to smash those who now control, to seize control from their hands, to use raw power to insure that constitutional rhetoric becomes reality."







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